HUMAN EVENTS

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News Section *Printed in Two Sections*

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SUMMIT: *De Gaulle leads the West* ..... (page 1)

Aiding the Reds in Asia ..... (page 4)

1960: *Dixiecrats with a difference* ..... (page 2)

REUTHER: *Union memberships dwindle* ..... (page 3)

EDUCATION: *Classrooms go begging* ..... (page 4)

The Summit Issue: The images of the three Western leaders, as seen by Diplomatic Row in Washington: (1) Macmillan—crafty British politico, going all out for appeasement of Soviet Russia; (2) Eisenhower—confused and self-contradictory; (3) General De Gaulle, calm, collected, bluntly defiant of Soviet Russia—establishing himself as the "strong man of the West."

The British premier's deportment in Washington, indeed, has aroused reactions hardly complimentary to British valor. According to insiders, Macmillan expressed to American officials his fear that Britain might be crushed by Soviet missiles. This attitude is contrasted with De Gaulle's courageous willingness to have a showdown on Berlin—although France would be even more vulnerable than England to a Soviet attack. And, on the morrow of Macmillan's visit, the Capital noted that Hanson Baldwin, military expert of *The New York Times*, reported no solid evidence of the existence of any but "a few" operational Soviet ICBM's and of "probably" only a few hundred IRBM's.

Few military men in Washington take Macmillan's fears at face value, but some observers sympathize with his desire for re-election and his tactics of cutting the ground from under Labor party opposition. Yet, even this view draws many here to the conclusion that Britain, like it or not, remains an unreliable ally in view of her internal division of opinion and of the existence of a big left-wing, pacifist element. Several years ago, France was discounted as a firm ally for similar reasons. Today, under De Gaulle, France looms as America's strongest ally in Western Europe.

Some Washington observers go farther. They wonder if Britain, whether under Conservative or Labor leadership, isn't incorrigibly committed to playing an "in-between" diplomatic role, reverting constantly to her traditional policy of seeking to "divide and rule" in the international arena. If that be so, it is asked, should not we reconsider our relations with Britain?

Certainly, De Gaulle has vastly increased his stature in American eyes. Symptomatic of this development was the appearance last week of a newspaper advertisement paid for by the well-known International Latex Corporation, in which its board chairman, A. N. Spanel, says: "We simply cannot afford the luxury of isolating or disregarding an ally, and particularly an ally as great as the revitalized France under President De Gaulle. We dare not, even in terms of rock-bottom self-interest, give the appearance of downgrading France in the eyes of our common enemy." The ad also contains an article entitled "Why Eisenhower Should See De Gaulle."

Meanwhile, many remain confused in Washington about Ike's stand. He spoke to the press of the possibility of a series of summit meetings; but at the same time he denied pledging himself to go "automatically" to a summit meeting and made such a conference contingent on progress made at the preceding foreign ministers' meeting.

One Member of Congress, in the midst of this confusion, vented some of the concern existing in the minds of legislators. Representative Alvin O'Konski (R.-Wis.) bluntly said: "We're going to lick the boots" of Khrushchev at the summit. The congressional leader of O'Konski's own party, Indiana Representative Charles Halleck, rose to deny this, saying: "It just isn't true."

How long the Administration and the press can sit on the real inside story of the past few weeks remains a question. For instance, the Ike-Mac talks were held in northern Maryland, not in Washington, to keep Ike away from Dulles, according to some State Department circles—who add that tremendous pressure has been exerted on the President, since Dulles' illness, to separate Ike from the anti-appeasement advice Dulles would give him. The old pro-appeasement elements seized the opportunity afforded by Dulles' confinement to move in on Ike; the President resisted at first, then gave in.

The British, particularly, did not want to have Ike subject to Dulles' influence during the Macmillan visit. One crack now current is: "Apparently the State Department [located on Virginia Avenue] has moved out to Massachusetts Avenue [where the British Embassy is located]."

It is considered significant that Ike did not consult Dulles by phone from Maryland during the conference with Macmillan, although the impression has been spread that Dulles was consulted. It is emphasized by some who have seen him in the past week that Dulles has been quite capable of giving advice and directing negotiations; he is as keen mentally as before—even more so, one State Department official remarked. In short, a "palace revolution" seems to have occurred in the State Department.

Nixon: President Eisenhower said in his press conference last week that Vice President Nixon was too busy with other matters to participate in the "summit talks" which Ike had with Macmillan. There is another version on Capitol Hill, which watches the Vice President very carefully. Many legislators think that Nixon recalls the debacle of the last summit meeting at Geneva in 1955, and has preferred to stay aloof from the Ike-Mac conver-

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sations. Association with another Geneva might have an adverse effect on his Presidential ambitions.

But it seems true that Nixon was "busy"—as Ike said. It is reliably reported that his aides have met with the GOP chairmen from the Southern states and discussed the "civil rights" problem. These Southern state Republican parties will send close to 300 delegates to the national convention in 1960; Southern delegates are the first quarry of Presidential hopefuls as the convention approaches. Capitol Hill draws the conclusion that Nixon is actively and expertly electioneering.

Foreign Aid: Left-wing forces in the Democratic party and "modernists" within the GOP exerted pressures last week to restore $100 million that had been slashed from President Eisenhower's foreign aid requests. Only about 85 Congressmen voted against the restoration.

The vote, significantly, was a "teller," in which the Members do not have to place themselves on record as for or against. The reasons for avoiding a record vote are obvious: at a time when anti-spending sentiment is growing across the Nation, big foreign-aid appropriations are not likely to sit well with the folks back home.

Evidence of voter hostility to foreign giveaways was produced in a recent Trendex poll querying Americans about their attitudes on the subject. Result: three out of four favored curtailment or elimination of foreign grants.

● *One informed source tells* HUMAN EVENTS *that factories in Communist Yugoslavia—one of our chief aid recipients—are busy turning out small arms for the anti-West rebels in North Africa and for the pro-Red regime of Indonesia's Sukarno.*

Michigan Mess: Not the least of the troubles afflicting Michigan in its present financial crisis has been the lack of courage of Governor Soapy Williams. The Wolverine State's developing bankruptcy had been under way for many months before last November's elections. Yet, obviously for political reasons, the Democratic Governor and friend of Walter Reuther was unwilling to grapple with the realities during his campaign for re-election. Only after he won election did the facts come trickling out, in increasingly dismal fashion—until the possibility of a scrip issue to pay schoolteachers became the top feature of public discussion.

Yet, many in Detroit agree, Williams might still apply sound fiscal remedies, if he were not playing politics with bankruptcy. The Detroit *News* last week ferreted out the story that Soapy has readied a bill for heavy taxes but is keeping it quiet until after the elections for state offices, which take place on April 6. Clearly, the Governor feared adverse reactions at the polls if the voters were to realize just how bad things really were and what the Labor-Democratic party intended to do to the taxpayers.

The grim outlines of Williams' plans for taxing—according to the *News*—are as follows: introduction of a graduated personal income tax (Michigan has had no personal income tax) and a whopping $110 million corporation tax. The graduation of the planned income tax, it is said, would be so arranged that about one-third of the Michigan population would pay the taxes, with the other two-thirds paying none. In short, the philosophy of the tax would follow the class-division ideas of Walter Reuther, Soapy's socialistic mentor.

As for the new corporation tax, it would accelerate the exodus of industry from the state (described in "Walter's Boy Soapy," by Frank C. Hanighen, in HUMAN EVENTS for October 13, 1958), and further discourage industries from coming into Michigan. Statistics are available showing that, as a result of taxes already paid by business firms, it costs 50 per cent more per employee for a firm to operate in Michigan than it does in the neighboring state of Ohio (where the big three car manufacturers have built 29 branch automobile factories since 1945).

Dixiecrat Movement: With news last week from Alabama, a total of five Southern states are now lined up in the Dixiecrat column in preparation for the Presidential election of 1960. Alabama's Democratic Executive Committee voted, March 21, to throw out the "loyalty" pledge that had bound Presidential Electors to vote for the national party's nominee. Two more states are expected to join this movement within a few months.

The Dixiecrat (or States' Rights) party headed by Strom Thurmond in 1948 won the Electoral votes of four Southern states; but national Democratic power wrought vengeance on those who bolted the Truman ticket that year, and "loyalty" oaths followed in a number of states. Today, as the South writhes under "civil rights" laws and judicial decisions, the old Dixiecrat movement of eleven years ago is reviving rapidly—but with a difference.

It is often held that the Dixiecrat revolt against Truman would have made wider progress had it gained the support of Southern members of Congress. But the party bolt made it difficult for Representatives and Senators to back the "third party"; they feared they would lose their seniority rights in Washington and would have no chance of eventually getting prized chairmanships.

Under the scheme followed by Alabama and four other states, this conflict is avoided. No outright bolt of the party is contemplated, and party regularity is protected by "freedom of Presidential Electors." Thus, slates of Electors uncommitted to the national party nominee would be created by the state party organizations, dominated by Dixiecrats.

An indirect bolt through the Electoral College—this is the emerging strategy. Said the Birmingham *Post-Herald* on the morrow of the Alabama state committee action: "The Northern leaders of the party will know that Alabama is not in the bag to vote blindly for whomever they handpick for President."

Dixiecrat strategists look farther than this. States that adopt the "free Elector" slates would frame a platform; and unless national candidates agreed to the platform, the Southerners would not give them Electoral College support. Such withholding of Southern votes might prevent either of the two major candidates from receiving a majority in the Electoral College. This would throw the election into the House of Representatives, where

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each state would have one vote. In such a situation, the bargaining power of the South would be greatly increased in the selection of a President.

Reuther in a Jam: The giant AFL-CIO's attempt to drive all American workers into one corral is beginning to falter. This is the conclusion drawn from the annual report of the National Labor Relations Board, made public last month.

Deemed particularly significant is the consistent decline in the percentage of elections in which employees have certified unions as their bargaining agents. In 1955, the favorable vote stood at 68 per cent; in 1956, it fell to 65 per cent; in 1957, to 62 percent; and last year it dipped to 61 per cent. These figures are particularly significant in view of the fact that union bosses press for certification elections only in plants where they feel confident of a successful outcome.

This organizational decline has special meaning for Walter Reuther, who may be losing power within the AFL-CIO. For membership is dropping acutely in the industrial unions—the base of Reuther's strength—and particularly in his own UAW.

As reported by John Chappell and Ralph de Toledano in a recent issue of *Newsweek*, UAW membership is down more than one-quarter since 1953; James Carey's electrical union is down by a similar amount from its 1956 peak; and equal or even greater drops have afflicted the United Mine Workers and the Steelworkers' Union.

Part of this decline is attributed to the recession; many jobs lost because of tightening economic conditions have not opened up again. Reuther & Co. are also quick to blame "automation," pointing out that industry is raising its output while employing fewer men. Industry's counter: that union wage extortion has made the installation of expensive machinery an economical way out.

High Court: Security officers in the State Department continue to press for legislative action to correct the damage done to US defenses by a Supreme Court decision last year, holding that the department could not deny passports to known Communists.

John W. Hanes, Jr., chief of State Department security, told a Chicago news conference last week that, since the High Court's decision, Communists and fellow travelers who formerly could not get passports, or never would have applied, have been "coming out of the woodwork." He urged the passage of legislation by Congress to allow passport denial on grounds of Communist affiliation—legislation which, if backed by a grass-roots mail campaign, could receive favorable action at this session of Congress.

Bureaucratic Waste: A sample of how bureaucratic waste swells the US tax burden is forthcoming from the Department of Interior. Until it became a state three months ago, Alaska was generally conceded by the Interior's Office of Territories to be one of the most complex and costly of its regions to administer. With the loss of Alaska as a responsibility, one could reasonably anticipate reduced budget requirements from the Office of Territories. But the 1960 request from this office calls for an increase of about $500,000 over that needed for the current fiscal year.

The Territories office attributes the increase to scheduled airport development on the island of Samoa, which will require $500,000 next year. Then where is the loss of Alaska reflected in the budget? It isn't. Insiders report that six persons were on the Federal payroll to handle Alaskan affairs last year—at a cost of $32,000. They are still there.

In reporting this situation to his constituents recently, Representative Frank T. Bow (R.-O.) asked: "When the 1961 Budget is released next January, will it reflect the loss of Hawaii by another increase in the administrative cost of the Office of Territories? Will it require more to administer the affairs of the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa and Canton Island than it cost when Alaska and Hawaii were still on the list?"

● The Interior Department has come under attack from another source for questionable use of the taxpayers' money. In a letter to President Eisenhower, Mrs. Philip L. Corson, head of an organization called "Alerted Americans," protested a recent Interior-sponsored "cooking demonstration" in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania—which sent agents from Washington to teach the women of the community how to concoct fish and game dishes. Mrs. Corson told the President: "Alerted Americans [see HUMAN EVENTS for March 25, 1959] wonder how many of the 2,300,000 bureaucrats on the Federal payroll are engaged in boondoggles similar to the fish-and-game frivolity. . . . "

Soviet Invasion: In a recent hard-hitting speech, Senator Styles Bridges (R.-N.H.) pointed up the dangers of "trade with the Communists" sentiment in this country, and the laxness of US officials in permitting trade deals with the Soviets to be put into operation.

The Soviets, Bridges said, are shipping 6,000 pieces of scientific equipment to America, to be sold at fantastically low prices. This equipment is destined for public school classrooms, where it can be used to plant seeds of "Soviet superiority" thinking in the minds of America's children.

The Soviet equipment, the New Hampshire Senator pointed out, is priced to undersell commercial US equipment of similar quality. But, he continued, there is considerable "high-quality surplus equipment . . . being declared surplus at the rate of about $100 million worth, in initial value, each year.

"Although this equipment is available to high schools and colleges, both public and private . . . only about 20 per cent of the items actually find their way into the educational institutions of America . . .

"One of those who viewed the first Soviet shipment was quoted as saying that the Russian-made spectrometers were offered at about one-third the price of the cheapest similar item on the US market today. But by just paying warehousing and transportation costs, the same articles could be obtained out of surplus."

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Franco-German Amity: General De Gaulle in his statement last week on the world situation spelled out clearly his friendly attitude towards Western Germany and indicated that the thousand-year-old Franco-German quarrel has ended.

Few American papers printed the following passages or commented on this historic event. The General said: "One might conceive that France desires to profit from the [Berlin] crisis and, joining the move to split the German people, insure for herself at the expense of that country advantages parallel to those which the Soviet Union seems to wish to seize for herself. That is not our policy. If the present Germany seemed dangerous to us, then no doubt the memory of trials suffered by her actions and the desire to prevent their recurrence would motivate our demands. But Germany, as she is, in no way threatens us. We even think that with her capabilities, her energy, her resources, she constitutes an essential element of the life and progress of Europe and the whole world.

"Even more, as is normal for two old adversaries who have given up fighting and destroying each other, France and Germany have resolved to cooperate. On this point, the policy of Chancellor Adenauer coincides with ours. . . . We shall thus support nothing which would be such as to lead the German people to despair or to compromise its peaceful future or to wreck the hope which, after so many blows and tears, has arisen on both sides of the Rhine."

Add Summit: The timing of the Eisenhower-Macmillan gestures toward a summit conference, say Washington diplomatic experts, could not have been worse. Appeasement moves generally, and convivial gatherings with Red dictators particularly, have a disastrous effect on the morale of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. Seeing the Free World's leaders consort openly with their slavemasters, the captive nations lose hope, and are discouraged from resisting.

Now, with revolts raging in Tibet and threatening to spread to other regions of China, is the time when US policy should be firmly anti-Communist. Our goal, say proponents of a firm US policy, should be to encourage the revolution, materially and morally.

Washington Star columnist Constantine Brown commented last week: "In immense Sinkiang [province, in China], the nomads, who are said to be better armed than the Tibetans, are also in open rebellion. The discontent which has prevailed for the last three years among the people of Southern China, and in Kwantung Province . . . is reported to have flared up anew."

These Asian peoples, chafing under the Communist yoke, look to a firm American policy to aid them in their struggle for freedom. A summit conference with the Kremlin's rulers would do much to destroy their spirit of resistance.

Education Front: What would New York City do with more Federal aid for school construction? "Liberal" spenders often cite "overcrowded" public schools in America's largest metropolis as proof that the Federal Government should step in to save the Nation from educational disaster. But the results of an extensive survey of New York schools, conducted by the New York *World-Telegram,* clearly refute the need for Federal school aid in New York.

Telegram findings: Nearly 45 per cent of New York's 817 public school buildings are presently not being used to full capacity. Taxpayers, who are being asked to support a new $500 million school construction bond issue, are already bearing the cost of some 120,000 desks which remain unoccupied each day. One new public school in Queens operates at just 62 per cent of full enrollment.

Between Covers: The following publications and articles will be of interest to HUMAN EVENTS readers:

- COMMUNIST TACTICS, STRATEGY, OBJECTIVES (pamphlet). Report of the American Bar Association, 25 cents. America's Future, 542 Main Street, New Rochelle, N. Y.
- RECOGNIZE RED CHINA? (pamphlet). An expose of the National Council of Churches' World Order Study Conference, November, 1958. $1. Circuit Riders, Inc., 18 East Fourth Street, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
- THE REPUBLICAN DEBACLE IN CALIFORNIA (article), by Cal Stanford. A full-scale analysis of last fall's collapse by the Golden State GOP. *American Mercury* for April, 1959. 35 cents. 250 West 57th St., New York 18, N. Y. (The same issue contains an expose of big labor's take-over on Capitol Hill—an article entitled "Clear it With COPE," by veteran newspaperman Willard Edwards.)
- THE ROOTS OF CAPITALISM (book), by John Chamberlain. A scholarly but lively survey of the men, ideas and technological achievements that have shaped the American capitalist system. $5.50. Van Nostrand, Princeton, New Jersey.
- FOREIGN AID RE-EXAMINED (book). A critical appraisal edited by Wiggins and Schoeck, $5. Public Affairs Press, Washington, D. C.
- AMERICAN VOTING BEHAVIOR (book). Edited by Burdick and Brodback, $7.50. A highly technical study of recent election polls. Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

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Article Section *Printed in Two Sections*

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Featherbedding: Robbery Made Legal

How Labor Boss Pressures Create Unemployment

By FRANK CHODOROV

LABOR POTENTATE Walter Reuther was reported recently to be readying a march on Washington, to dramatize the plight of America's unemployed. Reuther's purpose in such a performance would be two-fold: 1) to impress upon Congress the need for spending more tax money to make jobs; and 2) to cast himself as the friend of the unfortunate, and an advocate of enlightened economic policy.

Characteristically, Reuther has sacrificed sense to histrionics. His panacea of make-work legislation ignores the fact that America is already suffering from the waste of resources produced by schemes of artificial employment. For it is a variety of labor-union extortion known as "featherbedding" which is in great part responsible for some of America's most acute economic miseries.

Featherbedding consists of practices by which workers manage to get paid for not working or for performing less work than can reasonably be expected of them; included are all sorts of work-restricting schemes, the most important of which is effective opposition to the introduction of labor-saving machinery. Sometimes, as in the case of the railroads, featherbedding is sanctified by law; sometimes it is written into labor-management contracts under duress; sometimes it is imposed by a labor union agent on the spot. Often workers, of their own accord, emboldened by the knowledge that as union men they can impose their will on the employer, will slow down on the job in order to force an increase in their pay.

A standard barometer for measuring the health of the economy is the rate of building construction. If people are in the market for homes it must be because they are earning enough money to indulge their appetite for better living quarters. A demand for homes in turn stimulates a demand for steel, lumber, brick, glass, paint and a thousand and one things that go into the construction and equipment of homes. The whole economy is stimulated. Contrariwise, any impediment put in the way of satisfying the demand for homes must retard the economy. And the most important impediment is the pushing of the price of homes beyond the means of the prospective purchasers; which is what featherbedding tends to do.

The Associated General Contractors of America estimate that the cost of building in the United States is raised 20 per cent by this practice. Thus, a $20,000 home carries a robbery tax of $4,000, on which, if it is included in the mortgage, the owner must pay interest for years. Obviously, some families find the overpriced home just beyond their reach and decide to go without; and that means less jobs, not only for construction workers, but also for workers in the supply and service industries related to building.

It is impossible to list all the make-work devices employed in the construction industry, simply because many of them are local and non-contractual, invented on the spot by capricious union agents. The local unions seem to be a law unto themselves. Last year the Building and Trades Department of the AFL-CIO adopted a ten-point program intended to eliminate some of the more costly featherbedding practices; investigation shows that the local leaders have simply disregarded the program.

TAKEN AT RANDOM, here are some of the schemes operating in the construction industries. Bricklayers who used to lay 1000 bricks a day are now limited to half that number; some workers assert that it is more arduous to limit oneself to the prescribed number than to lay the bricks. Paint brushes may not be more than four inches in width; the use of spray guns is restricted. Electricians may install only a given number of outlets in a day; carpenters may not hang more than a given number of doors. Union rules require that pipes should be threaded on the job, not at the pipe factory, where improved machinery can considerably increase the output. Trucks delivering plumbing material must carry a plumber whose only duty is to sit with the driver. Construction workers waiting for materials may not help unload the trucks delivering them.

The ingenuity displayed in devising featherbedding schemes staggers the imagination:

- A contractor put up some houses in which he used wooden sashes which had been glazed at the factory; in another he used metal sashes which had to be glazed on the job. The union agent decreed that the metal sashes could not be glazed until all the windows in the completed houses were removed and replaced by his men, at union wages.

- Another glazing monstrosity involved a laboratory building constructed like a greenhouse, all covered with small panes of glass. During the years a number of these panes had been broken and replaced from time to time. Eventually a remodelling job was decided upon. The contractor was required to break all the windows before the remodelling could begin.

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● Sears, Roebuck made the mistake of installing, in a new building at Joliet, Illinois, a number of show cases, mirrors and other glazed equipment, before the building had been completed. The union agent noted this profusion of glass in the interior of the store and decided that it had to be "purified." Purification consisted of removing all the tainted glass and replacing it with glass handled by his men. Otherwise the building could not have been completed.

● The first floor-level of a two-story building was being remodelled. The upper story, in no way involved in the job, consisted of apartments. However, when it came to glazing the ground floor, the union refused to go ahead with the job until the 14 windows in the upper story were removed and replaced.

Sometimes the union agent will graciously contrive with the contractor to reduce the cost of featherbedding. In New York, for instance, there is an on-the-spot rule that a $5,000 construction job on or above the fifth floor calls for the employment of a "hoisting engineer," at a salary of $150 a week. The fact that the building has an elevator operator is not considered. If the contractor objects to the cost, however, the agent may conciliate; that is, he may estimate that the job will take four weeks, during which the "hoisting engineer" would collect $600 for doing nothing, and offer to take $550 in cash in lieu of a "hoisting engineer." This is sheer blackmail and would probably be so held by a court. But, how long would the contractor who presses the charge be able to get the labor necessary to stay in business?

Featherbedding is extortion sanctified by law; if the unions were not immunized from the restraint-of-trade laws which apply to all other citizens and corporations, featherbedding would be practically impossible. In the larger cities, the construction unions go so far as to determine who may and who may not go into business, requiring would-be contractors to obtain from them what amounts to a "certificate of necessity and convenience." If an application is turned down, the contractor will not only not get workers but materials will not be delivered to him. And if he and his family decide to do the work themselves, he will find that suppliers will not sell him any materials. This is restraint of trade with a vengeance. With such a hold on the industry, what featherbedding may not the unions impose on it?

The unions can also put a man out of business, at will. For 14 years Hunt Brothers had been trucking for the A&P Company in Philadelphia. The union struck Hunt Brothers for a closed shop. To avoid trouble, A&P signed a closed shop agreement and notified their truckers to comply. But the unions had decided that Hunt must go and would not supply him with drivers. The case eventually went to the Supreme Court, which upheld the union's monopoly privilege.

During prohibition days it was common practice among bootleggers to divide areas of exploitation among themselves; the unions, especially in the construction business, are still doing it. At a congressional hearing, a firm of Chicago roofers testified that they had been ordered by a union not to operate north of 47th Street, because that area had been assigned to another unionized roofer. When the firm defied the order it was put out of business by the simple device of cutting off its sources of supply. The object of such territorial division is, of course, to cut down competition and thus make possible the imposition of all sorts of costly featherbedding. That the favored contractors are in cahoots with their union benefactors goes without saying.

DESPITE THE PUBLIC disclosure of his skulduggeries, Jimmy Hoffa seems to have retained the loyalty of his dues-paying members, simply because he symbolizes their opulence. He has fattened the envelopes of many of them with featherbedding money and they love him for it. He has introduced a number of extortionist methods, but the principal ones come under the head of territorial prerogatives.

The City of New York furnishes a prime example of this kind of hold-up, to which it lends itself geographically. The main entrances to the city from the rest of the country are over or under the Hudson River, and thus access to it is not difficult to guard. A truck from out of town is met at the New Jersey end of the George Washington Bridge or the Holland Tunnel by a member of the New York Teamster local and the driver is informed that he may not enter New York, even though he holds a union card, unless he takes aboard a bona fide member of the New York organization. Theoretically, this extra driver will offer to work for his pay: he will deliver the truck to its destination and return the empty truck to the point of entry. However, no shipper will entrust the load to a stranger and, besides, what would the out-of-town driver be doing while the load is being delivered? So, the second driver merely sits on the truck and collects pay; he does not even help to unload. This is pure hold-up, but the union has a rationale for it: it claims that the out-of-town driver cannot be expected to know the traffic regulations in the city and must have a pilot.

It is the law, not Hoffa, that enforces such regional monopolies. The Schultz Co., truckers, once maintained a terminal and delivery service in New York, employing members of local 807, city monopolists. They decided to move across the river in New Jersey, where they hired members of the local union. But when these union drivers tried to make deliveries to Schultz customers in the city, local 807 picketed their trucks. Local warehousemen would not unload them. The matter came up for adjudication before the National Labor Relations Board, and that body found for 807 on the ground that there was a contract covering the matter. Schultz went out of business.

The purpose of this practice is to make jobs for members of 807. For some of them it has, but it has deprived others of their means of livelihood. A number of concerns which maintained distributing points in the city—warehouses to serve customers in New England and the Middle Atlantic states—have moved their plants across the river, so as to avoid payment of tribute to 807. Their drivers are not members of 807, as they used to be.

Regional monopolization takes different forms in different cities. When a New Jersey truck gardener delivers his produce to Albany, N.Y., he is required to hire a "helper," whose job is to move the crates to the truck's loading platform. The "helper" works only inside the truck; warehousemen deliver the

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crates into the warehouse. The driver may not touch a crate. No matter how small the load, the "helper" must be paid $14.82 a day, which of course shows up in the price the housewife pays for the produce.

In Rochester, Minnesota, a driver of a truck from outside the city may not back up his vehicle to the dock to load or unload; that's a job which only a local union man may do. In Washington, D.C., where the union monopoly laws originated, a trucker from Virginia must hire a local union man to handle the load at the point of call. In effect, this featherbedding practice cancels the union card of one city in another. But it's legal.

* * *

How featherbedding helps to cause unemployment is best demonstrated in the printing business, especially the newspaper end of it. Fifty years ago, when the population of New York was half its present size, there were twice as many separate dailies published in the city as there are today. The prime cause of this shrinkage is the cost of labor, which has forced the price of newspapers from one cent to a dime. A dozen years ago, when the 100-year-old *Sun* sold out to the *World-Telegram,* it ran on the front page of its last issue a signed editorial in which the publisher put the blame for the demise on labor costs. It was no longer possible, he said, to publish a daily in New York with less than 300,000 circulation. Of course, when a paper goes out of existence, its employees must find other jobs—if they can.*

Characteristic of the costly featherbedding practices in the newspaper business is something appropriately called, by the workers themselves, "bogus." Advertisements are frequently submitted to newspapers in matrix form, type set, ready for platemaking. The newspaper's type composition room is by-passed. However, a union rule requires that after the advertisement has been run, a copy of it must be stuck on a "bogus" hook, and the advertisement must be set up again, proofread, corrected, and then destroyed. It is a make-work rule, written into the general laws of the compositor's union, and therefore is not subject to bargaining or arbitration.

The resistance of the typographers' union to technological improvements in the trade has been notorious. As consumer resistance to rising wage scales increased, thus making publishing a hazardous business, invention came to the rescue only to be thwarted by union rules. There is, for instance, the teletypesetter, a device for punching words on a paper tape, which is then fed into the conventional typesetting machine; manual typesetting is avoided. Improvements in electronics made possible a teletype service by means of which news and syndicated features can be transmitted nationally. But, such things met with union barriers before they could be introduced, and as a last resort the union insists that every contract carry a clause which forbids the laying off of workers whose services are made obsolete by any labor-saving device. That these labor-saving devices, if fully taken advantage of, could reduce the price of newspapers, increase circulation and thus create new jobs is completely disregarded.

Newspapers, because they cannot be printed outside the city of publication, have to absorb the cost of featherbedding and pass them on to the subscriber. But, printers not subject to this restriction often save themselves from the squeeze by moving to areas where union rules can be avoided. Some years ago a printing plant in Springfield, Mass., faced liquidation. In desperation, the management decided that the plant could be saved if featherbedding costs could be avoided and thus put them in a competitive position with New York printers. They shut down and announced that they would open up without a union contract. Meanwhile, they figured out a price scale which would not include paying for services not performed, and on the basis of this price scale closed some lucrative contracts with New York publishers.

When the plant reopened—without a union contract, but paying the union scale of wages—it worked 24 hours a day for a long time. Only one of the savings effected need be mentioned: instead of employing two men to feed each press, an operation which occupied this crew an average of two hours a day, two men fed its four presses; the saving came to nearly $20,000 a year. The members of the New York local which had been printing these magazines lost their jobs, legitimate and featherbedding alike.

A CHARITY DECIDED to enliven a fund-raising affair with a 15-minute dramatic skit. A few lamps—which could easily have been put into a taxicab—were needed. But since these lamps come under the head of theatrical equipment, the charity managers had to hire a union delivery service costing $75. The deliverer duly laid the lamps on the loading platform of the hotel where the affair was to be held; he was not allowed to bring them into the hall. For this transportation job the management had to put in a "call"; a "call" consists of the services of an electrician and a helper, a carpenter (scene shifter) and an assistant, and the minimum charge for such services (15 minutes' work) is the union scale for three hours: approximately $40. Next, there was a setting-up "call," for preparing the equipment for rehearsal; charge, $40. After that came the rehearsal "call," during which the foursome was on hand to perform whatever needs to be done or not done: $40. Finally, there was the performance "call"; again $40. The whole operation was concluded in three hours, but the four men were paid for 16 hours, at union scale. During the three hours, the hotel electrician, whose wages are included in the hall rental, had to be on hand to show the stage electrician where to plug in the wires. And after all this was over, there was a take-down "call" and the hauling-away charge. The cost to the charity came to about $500. If music had been included in the skit—well, heaven help the charity.

When you pay $8.80 for a ticket to a Broadway show you are not only paying for the entertainment you expect to get, you are also paying to support a number of men who do little or nothing to make the entertainment possible. The union decrees that no show may open without the presence of a full crew, consisting of at least one carpenter, an elec-

* To be fair, an autopsy of deceased newspapers would have to include inflation, a purely governmental operation, as one of the causes of death. On the other hand, it would have to point out that despite the phenomenal technological improvements in printing, the labor costs have more than offset the savings.

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trician, a curtain raiser, and helpers who help do nothing. A one-set show requires only the pushing of the buttons to raise and lower the curtain—something which could be done by the stage manager—but the union, nevertheless, requires five men.

If the script calls for an actor to sit down at the piano for even a few seconds and if the theater seats 1100 or more, union rules define the performance as a musical show and therefore call for the employment of a full orchestra of 26 pieces, even though they never play a note. Or, suppose you go to hear a "name" band; you will also be paying for the services of another band, one you don't care to hear, which will play an overture and a "chaser"—music to escort you out of the theater. Or, if you went to see Victor Borge's one-man show (without props), you not only paid for the entertainment he afforded you, but also for the presence of four idle musicians and eleven idle stagehands.

Largely because of such tribute demanded by the unions in the theatrical field, it is impossible to produce a meritorious show without a capital investment of tens of thousands of dollars, or to keep it going unless it is a smash hit; before World War I a good play could be put on with an investment of as little as $1000. Today, two weeks before a show opens, the producer must hire a union press agent at $250 a week, even if there is nothing for him to do but deliver copy prepared by the producer; and if the show closes after the first night the producer must be prepared to pay said operative for two more weeks. Similar requirements are imposed by the Costumers Union, the Scenic Designers Union and others. As for travelling shows, the producer may be required to carry a full stage crew of five, even if only one set is used, in addition to the crew which he must hire locally. Permission was granted Billy Graham to open his evangelical series at the Madison Square Garden on condition that he hire two stagehands, whose only function was to put a pitcher of water on the podium.

* * *

When gangsters demand a "cut" for providing "protection," the victim may apply to the law for relief. But there is no law to protect industry as a whole from the pickpocketing methods known as "job classification." This is the practice of forbidding men of a certain skill to do the unskilled work assigned to another craft, even in an emergency, to the extent that hours and hours are wasted every day in a sizable plant. Recently the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union called a strike at the Gulf Oil Corporation's Port Arthur, Texas, refinery because the company insisted on including a clause in the contract that would minimize this costly practice. Wages or other conditions of labor were not at issue. These are a few of the costly and capricious practices the company wanted to eliminate:

That an employee in the Instrument Department must call a pipe fitter when he wishes to disconnect a piece of pipe. That an employee in the tool house must call another to mark the bin with symbols to identify its contents. That an employee using a portable air compressor must call another to start the compressor. That when a boilermaker wishes to remove a plug from an exchanger in order to test it he must call another employee to do the job. That an employee on a suction dredge cannot disconnect a piece of pipe but must call another employee to do it.

And so on and so on. Gulf Oil's object was to cut down the waste of time occasioned by a skilled worker's waiting until another skilled worker appeared to do some thing that requires no skill at all. To prevent any efficiency move like that, the union threw 4600 men out of work.

THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT declared featherbedding to be an unfair labor practice, and a union which indulges in it may be denied the good offices of the NLRB. The penalty is invoked only after a complaint is filed with the NLRB by an employer, and after that body has declared the practice complained of as illegal featherbedding. While this procedure is going on the union can well put the complaining employer out of business. In practice, the comparatively few cases that have come up before the NLRB have resulted in the issuance of a "cease and desist" order, which is duly displayed on the bulletin board of the union headquarters, for the amusement of the members.

Putting this nonsense aside, how can featherbedding be legally described? The Taft-Hartley law limits its definition to the requirement that the employer "employ or agree to employ any person or persons in excess of the number reasonably required to perform actual service." How would that definition cover the rule that requires the tape-recording of a television show to be cleaned off after one showing—so that if the performance, say a commercial, is shown at five television stations it shall be considered for payroll purposes to have been "performed" five different times? Some practices, like the job classification business, simply cannot be defined legally.

Even the limited definition of the Taft-Hartley act has not stood up in court. In 1953 the Supreme Court of the United States virtually wiped out the featherbedding clause of the Taft-Hartley law. The Gamble Enterprises had complained that they had been forced to hire a band of musicians in addition to the "name" band which they were sponsoring. The court decided that this was not featherbedding as defined in the law because the extra band was on hand, available and willing to perform services.

There is only one way of stopping this pickpocketing of the economy—a substantial cause of unemployment. And that is to introduce competition in the labor field. If the unions did not enjoy immunity from the anti-trust laws which the rest of society must obey, most of the featherbedding practices would disappear. For what are they but schemes in restraint of trade?

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